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E.O. 11652: GDS 11/25/86 (HAVERKAMP, R) OR-M

TAGS: PINS, PINT, JM

SUBJECT: Analysis of The October 30 Election Results

REF: (A) KINGSTON 8000, (B) KINGSTON 8087

1. C - entire text.

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2. Summary. The largest percentage ever of eligible voters, 86%, turned out on October 30 to select the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) as the new government. Of the 852,168 votes cast, the JLP won 501,283, with the People's National Party (PNP) getting 350,588. Independents garnered the remaining 297 ballots. In capturing 52 of the 60 parliamentary seats, the JLP scored the most stunning and one-sided victory in the history of Jamaican elections since adult sufferage was introduced in 1944, exceeding its own record of 22 to 3 in the 1944 election and the PNP's of 47 to 13 in the 1976 election. It won the largest popular vote by either major party, 58.8%, topping the previous high of 56.8 percent won by the PNP in 1976. Prior to this election, the JLP had never won more than 59.6 percent of the popular vote, and in 1949 had won a majority of the seats while losing the popular vote. The

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JLP swept all the seats in 10 of the 14 parishes and successfully challenged the PNP in the latter's stronghold-- the Kingston/St. Andrew corporate area. Following the recount in Western St. Andrew which reversed the preliminary finding of a PNP victory, the JLP was called the winner in 10 of the 15 corporate area constituencies, reversing a PNP margin of 12 to 3 in the 1976 election. The national swing to the JLP was slightly over 15% and ranged from a high of 23% in St. Thomas to a modest 6% in Portland. The PNP gained strength in only two constituencies, that of South Western St. Andrew, where Portia Simpson increased her share of the vote from 67 to 79 percent, and in Southern St. Andrew, where Anthony Spaulding garnered 87%, 5% more than his 1976 margin. (See below for comments regarding reliability of these figures). Of the 35 PNP incumbent Members of the House of Representatives who ran in 1980, only eight were returned. All twelve of the thirteen incumbent JLP members of the House of Representatives who ran in 1980 were returned. (One JLP member of parliament (MP) did not stand for reasons of health. His replacement won however.) Nine of twelve PNP cabinet ministers--including former Minister of Foreign Affairs P.J. Patterson and former Minister of Finance Hugh Small--were defeated, five of them by newcomers to politics, and of six PNP ministers of State five lost their seats (the actual vote count appears as appendix A). End summary.

3. Parish-by-Parish Breakdown.

A. Kingston. (Four constituencies) The swing to the JLP averaged 18%. Violence characterized the campaign in all constituencies. Prime Minister Seaga increased his majority in West Kingston to 94% from 78% in 1976 for his highest vote since he first ran and took this seat in 1962. The 99% turnout reflected the total JLP control of this constituency. Former Prime Minister Manley's support in East Central Kingston dropped from 77% in 1976 to 54% in 1980, despite an alleged moving of about 1,000 supporters into the constituency, shortly before enumeration ended, from an adjoining PNP stronghold. A PNP source has alleged that 3,000 invalid ballots were cast for Manley's opponent. PNP Minister of Local Government and moderate Ralph Brown won his seat by 59% in West Central Kingston. The most significant change in Kingston was the loss in East Kingston and Port Royal by former Finance Minister Hugh Small to Glen Webley by 486 votes, the first time since 1944 that the PNP candidate was not elected in the constituency. Webley, a 28-year-old ex-Jamaica Defense Force captain and newcomer to politics, had been considered

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a throw-away candidate by the JLP, which was as surprised by his success as the PNP was. Most observers believe that the lack of support for Small from veteran PNP moderate Governor General Florizel Glasspole, who is credited with making this seat the firm PNP bastion it was, an intemperate public remark by PNP General Secretary Dr. D.K. Duncan that Glasspole was a "striking hypocrite" at an October 12 PNP Youth Organization meeting, and Small's own comments regarding sabotage by certain Air Jamaica employees (the airport is in the constituency) and his forced apology shortly before the election, alienated a sufficient number of traditional PNP supporters to tip the scales in Webley's favor.

B. St. Andrew. (Eleven constituencies) The average swing to the JLP was 16%. Violence was common in most and severe in several constituencies. In 1976 the JLP won only two seats in traditionally-PNP and heavily-urbanized St. Andrew. In this election, they won 8, counting the Western St. Andrew seat which was reported to be won by Minister of National Security Dudley Thompson in the preliminary count but went to JLP candidate Owen Stephenson in the final tally. The two returned JLP candidates, Dr. Mavis Gilmour and Douglas Vaz, increased their majorities by 7 and 21 percent, respectively. Two PNP candidates, as noted in para 2 scored the only increase enjoyed by PNP candidates in the elections, but Emboffs have heard from constituents of South Western St. Andrew, won by Portia Simpson with 79% of the vote and a suspicious 103.4% turnout, that at least one group of thirteen people, walking to the polling station together for safety, arrived to find that the records showed they had already voted. Simpson is enormously popular in her constituency, one of the poorest and toughest in the country, and has a reputation for being an effective urban politician; and it seems that she would have won anyway but without such an overwhelming majority. Violence was rampant in this constituency throughout the long campaign, and it had the dubious distinction of having more deaths from political violence than any other in the country. The losing JLP candidate, Tom Tavares-Finson, had to be brought to the nominating center on October 14 in a JDF armored car. Most polling stations were in areas tightly controlled by one of the parties, which resulted in representatives of the other party not showing up, in many cases preventing them from witnessing the vote stuffing which both sides undoubtedly engaged in. Violence was also heavy in the contiguous constituency of West Central Kingston, where JLP candidate Ferdie Yap pulled an upset victory over PNP strongman Carl "Russian" Thompson. The preliminary vote in Western St. Andrew gave the edge to former Minister of National Security

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Dudley Thompson, but the formal final count showed Owen Stephenson ahead by 474 votes. Both sides charged the other with electoral fraud, but we have heard from residents of the area that PNP thugs positioned themselves in polling stations and intimidated presiding officers into cooperating or fleeing. PNP supporters were permitted to cast ballots without using the integrity ink, allowing them to vote at other polling stations a second or third time. PNP supporters checked each ballot at some polling stations, reminding voters that they would then know who voted against the PNP, and some JLP voters have since been attacked and killed. There are reports that some boxes were stuffed with votes for Thompson, but the perpetrators failed to place the presiding officer's initials on the ballots. These ballots were disallowed in the official count. For his part, the JLP candidate, a former deputy commissioner of police, got a little help from his friends, and several JLP sources admit that the party "overdid" it in this seat. Thompson has described his loss as a "rape of democracy", requesting a magisterial recount, which was still in progress on December 2. At the same time, Attorney General Winston Spaulding has asked the courts to declare this election null and void, raising the possibility of a by-election, which the JLP would be likely to win. It should be noted that most political observers found it a little difficult to believe, based on the initial count, that Thompson had won in the face of the JLP landslide. He had never won a contested election before since his first unsuccessful venture in politics in 1962 when he ran against Seaga in West Kingston. (Thompson was the man who, along with Seaga, introduced the gun to Jamaican politics in their 1967 contest. His days as Minister of National Security had been plagued with controversy, especially over his close connections with Cuba.)

In East Rural St. Andrew, where notorious gunman and leftist PNP MP and Parliamentary Secretary in the Ministry of National Security Roy McGann was killed on nomination day, October 14, Joan Gordon, an ally of JLP Deputy Chairman Pearnel Charles, handily defeated PNP replacement radical Lloyd Perry Stultz. Manley's perceived failure to protect McGann had a major psychological effect in this race and in the country in general. Trade unionist and PNP Minister of Public Utilities and Transport Carlyle Dunkley, who had impressed many by his balanced performance as acting Minister of National Security, lost to Karl Samuda, whom he had defeated in 1976 by 16%.

C. St. Thomas. (Two constituencies) The average swing to the JLP was 23%. This traditional JLP stronghold swung back, electing Bustamante Industrial Trade Union (BITU) officers Pearnel Charles and Errol Anderson. Charles was detained for nine months in the 1976-77 state of emergency and has a reputation of being a JLP strongman.

D. Portland. (Two constituencies) The average swing to the JLP was 5.5%. Portland voters have rarely given an overwhelming majority to either party. The western constituency has gone JLP in all elections since independence, except in 1976. The eastern portion has elected PNP candidates, except in 1962 and 1980. The decline in the tourist industry probably hurt the PNP as much as any issue in this resort district of Port Antonio.

E. St. Mary. (Four constituencies). The average swing to the JLP was 6.5%. JLP candidate for South Eastern St. Mary, Alva Ross, retained the seat that has always been held by him or his father, stemming a strong challenge from the PNP. Horace Clarke, former PNP Minister of Mining and Energy and a moderate, retained his seat in West Central St. Mary. PNP MP Terrance Gillete also retained his seat in the East Central constituency, while in the West, JLP candidate Talbert Forrest was returned to the seat he held from 1972-76. In the reputable Carl Stone poll conducted a month before the elections, St. Mary was the only parish that did not show a swing to the JLP.

F. St. Ann. (Four constituencies). There was a swing of 21.7% for the JLP. The JLP took three of the seats, with the South Eastern constituency returning PNP moderate and former Minister of Health Seymour Mullings by a slim margin in what had been a very safe seat for the PNP. Soft-spoken but determined Senator Princess Lawes (JLP), a Seventh Day Adventist educated in Kentucky, defeated leftist Minister of State in the Office of the Prime Minister Arnold Bertram in prosperous North West St. Ann by 24%, more than reversing the 20% margin she lost by in 1976. Violence characterized this race, as it did in 1976. North East St. Ann, which includes the tourist area of Ocho Rios, was won by JLP candidate Bobby Marsh, a former UN communications employee, who had lost in the 1972 and 1976 elections. Traditionally JLP South Western St. Ann returned veteran Neville Gallimore, who succeeded his father in this seat in 1967.

G. Trelawny. (Two constituencies) The swing to the JLP was 10.5%. One of the traditional swing parishes, Trelawny's voters have never voted overwhelmingly for one or the other parties. Despite the popular personality of Northern Trelawny incumbent Desmond Leaky and his moderate views, he lost to an extremely hard-working JLP neophyte Keith Russell by 3% in one of the closest contests in the country.

H. St. James. (Four seats) The swing to the JLP was almost 20%. Significant violence occurred in several of the constituencies. Minister of Labour and three-time winner in St. James moderate Howard Cooke lost to political newcomer Dr. Ken Baugh in the middle class constituency that includes Montego Bay. The PNP candidate for West Central St. James, PNP Deputy General Secretary Clive Dobson, who was hand-picked by PNP General Secretary D.K. Duncan, was wiped out by Air Jamaica pilot and political novice Carl Rhoden.

I. Hanover. (Two constituencies) The swing to JLP was 14%. Since independence in 1962, Hanover voters have elected candidates from the winning party. The 1976 election of Aston King of the PNP in Eastern Hanover was the only one of 14 cases throughout the country successfully challenged by the JLP candidate. The seat was declared vacant by the courts early in 1980. Basil Buck defeated King in 1980 by 63% of the vote. Reverend Roy Robinson, spiritual adviser to former Prime Minister Manley, lost to political newcomer Dr. Horace Chang.

J. Westmoreland. (Four constituencies). The swing to the JLP was 16%. This parish has been predominently PNP since 1962. The last time a JLP candidate won here prior to 1980 was in 1967 when North Eastern Westmoreland went to the JLP by 3%. The biggest upset in the JLP sweep of the parish was in the South Eastern constituency. Former Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs P. J. Patterson was defeated by his long-time opponent schoolteacher Euphemia Will s. She took 55% of the vote. The communist Worker's Party of Jamaica (WPJ) campaigned heavily in Westmoreland, and shortly before the election at a rally held for PNP candidate Pearl McKoy in the Central constituency, WPJ president Trevor Munroe said "Socialism is communism and communism is socialism." The JLP, in a skillful bit of propaganda, quickly took advantage of Munroe's embrace of the PNP by putting up posters of Munroe along side those of PNP candidates in the parish.

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K. St. Elizabeth, (Four constituencies). The swing to the JLP was 14%. This election was the first since independence in which a single [illegible] made a clean sweep of the parish. The defeated PNP candidate for North Eastern St. Elizabeth, Sidney Pagon, had represented that constituency since 1959; he lost by 8%. JLP candidate for South East St. Elizabeth, Cecil July, beat popular two-term PNP MP Dereck Rochester 57% to 43%. Rochester had one of the best reputations for constituency service in the Parliament, but the Top Hill episode shortly before the election, in which two children were killed by gunfire in an incident between JLP supporters led by July and PNP supporters led by Prime Minister Manley, reportedly badly hurt Rochester's chances. Manley was widely rumored to have brandished guns during the altercation and few believed that July was the provacateur, as the PNP charged. Violence, new to this area, appears to have had an adverse effect on all the PNP candidates. Moreover, in this parish, members of the WPJ campaigned actively, highlighting the JLP charges of a communist drift in the PNP.

L. Manchester, (Four seats) The average swing to the JLP was 14%. Since 1962, this parish has sent only three JLP candidates to Parliament, until 1980 when the JLP swept the parish. Winston Jones, who has held his Central Manchester seat for six terms, lost to Sidney Beaumont, a newcomer to politics who received invaluable help from Cecil Charlton, former PNP mayor of Mandeville, the most popular man in the parish. Charlton openly switched to the JLP this year, although he had been giving support to the party for some time.

M. Clarendon, (Six seats) The average swing to the JLP was 16.5%. Since 1962, this parish has been predominantly JLP, with the largest share won by the PNP being three seats in 1976. Former JLP Minister of Education Edwin ("Teacher") Allen, the oldest candidate in this election at 75, regained the seat he won in 1962, 1967 and 1972 but lost in 1976. The new Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Hugh Shearer, easily retained his seat with a majority increased from 59 to 68%. (This seat, South Eastern, was originally held by JLP founding father Sir Alexander Bustamante). Apparently violence accompanying tours of Prime Minister Manley through this parish worked against some PNP candidates. In Northern Clarendon, which returned JAG Smith, the identification of PNP candidate Kingley Robotham with the leftwing of the party spoiled his chances of victory.

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N. St. Catherine. (Seven constituencies). The swing to the JLP averaged 19.4%. The Parish of St. Catherine has experienced a sharp population increase, caused in large part by the siting of government housing projects there. Many former Kingston dwellers have moved there, bringing with them heightened expectations for a better life away from the ghettos. From Independence to 1972, when two PNP candidates were elected, it was solidly JLP. In 1976, the PNP won five seats. South East St. Catherine, won by former Speaker of the House Ripton McPherson in 1972 and 1976, has the largest population of any constituency in the country, and with South Central (which includes the former capital of Spanish Town) shares many of the problems that plague the inner city. The low- and middle-income inhabitants' turn to the JLP almost certainly represents a response to the inability of the Manley government to keep pace with their rising expectations. Moreover, politically inspired violence was introduced into St. Catherine during this election, and did not sit well with those who thought they had left that problem behind them in Kingston. In the South Western Constituency, JLP candidate Everald Warmington was wounded in an exchange of gunfire with PNP General Secretary D. K. Duncan and his security guards. St. Catherine's also had one of the least violent constituencies, however, in the South East, where the two candidates, Kingsley Sangster (JLP) and Leroy Cooke (PNP) made joint public statements decrying violence and, more importantly, conducted joint walking tours through the area.

Attachment: Elections Results, Candidate by Candidate, and Totals

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Attachment to
Kingston A-70

(9)

1980 GENERAL ELECTION RESULTS

Candidate-by-Candidate and National Totals 1/

Parish/Constituency		Candidate (Party)	Votes (%)	Margin
KINGSTON:	West	Edward Seaga (JLP)	9,344 (94.2%)	8,765
		Chadderton Ward (PNP)	579	
			9,923	
	West Central 2/	Ivan Moore (JLP)	3,791	1,559
		Ralph Brown (PNP)	5,350 (58.5%)	
			9,141	
	East Central	Ryan Peralto (JLP)	5,675	1,050
		Michael Manley (PNP)	6,725 (54.2%)	
			12,400	
	East & Port Royald	Glenmore Webley (JLP)	5,704	486
		Hugh Small (PNP)	5,218 (52.2%)	
		McLean (IND)	—	
			10,922	
ST. ANDREW:	West Rural	Mavis Gilmour (JLP)	12,123 (62.8%)	4,952
		Winston Davidson (PNP)	7,171	
			19,294	
	West 3/	Owen Stephenson (JLP)	9,224 (51%)	474
		Dudley Thompson (PNP)	8,750	
		Wright (IND)	89	
		Wiles (IND)	6	
			18,069	
	North West	Karl Samuda (JLP)	10,592 (68.1%)	5,646
		Carlyle Dunkley (PNP)	4,946	
			15,538	

1/ Source: Daily Gleaner, November 13, 1980, taken from the final counts in each constituency. The Electoral Commission has not yet published final election statistics.

2/ Results are based on the preliminary count, at the polling stations, as a number of ballot boxes were destroyed before the final count.

3/ A magisterial recount was still incomplete as of December 2.

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Parish/Constituency		Candidate (Party)	Votes (%)	Margin
ST. ANDREW:	West Central	Ferdinand Yapp Carl Thompson (PNP	10,591 (57.8%) 7,726 18,317	2,865
	South West	Tom Tavares-Finson (JLP) Portia Simpson (PNP)	4,524 17,192 (79.1%) 21,716	12,668
	South	Egbert Beadle (JLP) Anthony Spaulding (PNP)	2,721 17,682 (86.6%) 20,403	14,961
	East Central	Leslie Lloyd (JLP) D. K. Duncan (PNP)	8,098 10,308 (56%) 18,406	2,210
	North Central	Douglas Vaz (JLP) Douglas Graham (PNP)	16,629 (72.9%) 6,151 22,780	10,478
	South East	Allan Isaacs (JLP) John Junor (PNP	11,206 (63.9%) 6,323 17,529	4,883
	East	Edmund Bartlett (JLP) Roy Barrett	9,231 (69.3%) 4,081 13,312	5,150
	East Rural	Joan Gordon (JLP) Lloyd P. Stultz (PNP)	10,742 (63.8%) 6,071 16,813	4,671
ST. THOMAS:	West	Errol Anderson (JLP) Selvin Dewar (PNP) Anderson (IND)	12,214 (74.6%) 4,123 17 16,354	8,140

Parish/Constituency		Candidate (Party)	Votes (%)	Margin
ST. THOMAS:	Eastern	Pearnel Charles (JLP)	10,574 (71%)	6,269
		Winston G. Jones (PNP)	4,305	
			14,879	
PORTLAND:	West	St. Clair Shirley (JLP)	6,930 (57.5%)	1,818
		Evadney Shirley (PNP)	5,112	
			12,042	
	East	Tony Abrahams (JLP)	10,197 (56.3%)	2,372
		Keith Rhodd (PNP)	7,825	
		Phillips (IND)	86	
			18,108	
ST. MARY:	South East	Alva Ross (JLP)	6,004 (56.2%)	1,340
		Derrick Webb (PNP)	4,664	
			10,668	
	East Central	John Franklyn (JLP)	4,500	1,064
		Terry Gillette (PNP)	5,564 (55.2%)	
			10,064	
	West Central	Walter Brady (JLP)	5,000	157
		Horace Clarke (PNP)	5,157 (50.7%)	
			10,157	
	West	Talbert Forrest (JLP)	7,529 (54.3%)	1,206
		Vincent Edwards (PNP)	6,323	
			13,852	
ST. ANN:	North East	Bobby Marsh (JLP)	9,978 (58.8%)	3,012
		Vinroy Brown (PNP)	6,966	
			16,944	
	South East	Wally Goldsmith (JLP)	5,506	561
		Seymour Mullings (PNP)	6,067 (52.4%)	
			11,573	

(12)

Parish/Constituency		Candidate (PARTY)	Votes (%)	Margin
ST. ANN:	South West	Neville Gallimore (JLP)	7,237 (78.1%)	5,214
		Cornelius Waugh (PNP)	2,023	
			9,260	
	North West	Princess Lawes (JLP)	8,443 (62.2%)	3,322
		Arnold Bertram (PNP)	5,121	
			13,564	
TRELAWNY:	North	Keith Russell (JLP)	8,991 (52.7%)	1,127
		Desmond Leakey (PNP)	7,864	
		McDonald (IND)	199	
			17,054	
	South	Brascoe Lee (JLP)	6,658 (57.1%)	1,666
		Nigel Moore (PNP)	4,992	
			11,650	
ST. JAMES:	East Central	Winston Spaulding (JLP)	6,583 (63.7%)	2,842
		Edgar Watson (PNP)	3,741	
			10,324	
	South	Marco Brown (JLP)	7,489 (59.6%)	2,414
		Rudolph Scarlett (PNP)	5,075	
			12,564	
	West Central	Carl Rhoden (JLP)	7,884 (58%)	2,198
		Clive Dobson (PNP)	5,686	
			13,570	
	North West	Ken Baugh (JLP)	10,254 (63.1%)	4,259
		Howard Cooke (PNP)	5,995	
			16,249	
HANOVER:	East	Basil Buck (JLP)	7,239 (63%)	2,994
		Aston King (PNP)	4,245	
			11,484	

Parish/Constituency		Candidate (Party)	Votes (%)	Margin
HANOVER:	West	Horace Chang (JLP) Roy Robinson (PNP)	8,265 (59.4) 5,638 13,903	2,627
WESTMORELAND:	West	Buxton Cooke (JLP) Carmen McGregor (PNP)	7,010 (60.4%) 4,599 11,609	2,411
	Central	Karram Josephs (JLP) Pearl McKoy (PNP)	7,345 (57.3%) 5,470 12,815	1,875
	North East	Astil Sangster (JLP) Jim Thompson (PNP)	7,288 (59.3%) 4,997 12,285	2,291
	South East	Euphemia Williams (JLP) P. J. Patterson (PNP)	6,007 (54.8%) 4,952 10,959	1,415
ST. ELIZABETH:	North West	Neville Lewis (JLP) Caswell Daley (PNP)	7,679 (68.7%) 3,483 11,162	4,196
	South West	Derrick Sangster (JLP) Donald Buchanan (PNP)	8,555 (60.7%) 5,535 14,090	3,020
	North East	J.C. Hutchinson (JLP) Sydney Pagon (PNP)	9,016 (58.2%) 6,460 15,476	2,556
	South East	Cecil July (JLP) Derrick Rochester (PNP)	7,801 (57.2%) 5,822 13,623	1,979

Parish/Constituency		Candidate (Party)	Votes (%)	Margin
MANCHESTER:	South	Arthur Williams (JLP) A.S. Sinclair (PNP)	7,352 (51.6%) 6,887 14,239	465
	Central	Sydney Beaumont (JLP) Winston Jones (PNP)	10,191 (64.6%) 5,564 15,755	5,563
	North West	Staford Haughton (JLP) Donald Allen (PNP)	6,558 (54%) 5,569 12,127	989
	North East	Len Kirby (JLP) Calvin Lyn (PNP)	8,239 (60.1%) 5,453 13,692	2,786
CLARENDON:	North West	Edwin Allen (JLP) Percy Minott (PNP)	8,379 (60.4%) 5,468 13,847	2,911
	North	J.A.G. Smith (JLP) Kingsley Robotham (PNP)	6,375 (56.6%) 4,885 11,260	1,490
	North Central	Percy Broderick (JLP) Rupert Binger (PNP)	9,903 (83%) 2,025 11,928	7,878
	Central	Mike Henry (JLP) O.D. Ramtallie (PNP)	8,134 (63.6%) 4,651 12,785	3,483
	South West	Dudley McKenley (JLP) Rowen Skyers (PNP)	6,717 (52.8%) 5,990 12,707	727
	South East	Hugh Shearer (JLP) V. C. Henry (PNP)	9,718 (67.6%) 4,651 14,369	5,067

Parish/Constituency		Candidate (Party)	Votes (%)	Margin
ST. CATHERINE:	South West	Everald Warmington (JLP)	9,727 (61.5%)	3,640
		Buddy Lawson (PNP)	6,087
			15,814
	West Central	Enid Bennett (JLP)	8,771 (83.7%)	7,073
		Mel Woodfine (PNP)	1,698
			10,469
	North West	Audley Woodhouse (JLP)	5,922 (51.6%)	382
		Jack Stephenson (PNP)	5,540
			11,462
	North East	E. K. Powell (JLP)	7,858 (77.7%)	5,612
		Dorrette Aarons (PNP)	2,246
			10,104
	East Central	Ainsworth Campbell (JLP)	7,948 (56.1%)	1,742
		Ferdie Neita (PNP)	6,206
			14,154
	South Central	Granville Williams (JLP)	13,595 (70.1%)	7,821
		Derick Heaven	5,774
			19,369
	South East	Kingsley Sangster (JLP)	17,485 (63.8%)	7,599
		Leroy Cooke (PNP)	9,886
			27,371

Enumerated Voters	990,357
Total Votes	852,168
Percentage that voted	86%
JLP	501,283
PNP	350,588